A Comparison of Pennsylvania German With the Amana Dialect of Iowa

By J. WILLIAM FREY

Department of German, Presbyterian College
Clinton, S. C.

In making linguistic studies of our dialect, it is always interesting and profitable to compare it with the various dialects of South Germany, especially with that of the Palatinate, the real source of Pennsylvania German. To date, however, the gaps in our knowledge of those same dialects have been rather large, and much work will have to be done in the future in the field of the Palatine dialect and adjacent areas before we can draw more definite conclusions concerning the origin and background of our own dialect in Pennsylvania. Scholars have been eagerly awaiting the publication of the 'Pfaelzisches Woerterbuch' (Dictionary of the Dialects of the Palatinate), which has been in the process of being compiled by the able authority, Ernst Christmann, but present world circumstances have unfortunately postponed this event until some unknown future date. Dr. A. F. Buffington's (1) treatise on Pennsylvania German included may noteworthy comparisons with Palatine dialects, since he had the opportunity of having worked with Christmann. Two other recent linguistic studies by C. E. Reed and Lester Seifert (2), both of Brown University, contain rather lengthy and detailed material on the German dialects and their connection with Pennsylvania German. In many instances, however, they had to leave gaps because of the lack of positive evidence. They made use of the available dictionaries and dialect studies, but these do not exhaust the subject by any means. The early article by C. H. Eshleman (3) also contained numerous comparisons with German and Swiss dialects. We see by this brief and incomplete survey of the work done up to the present, that more material will have to be gathered in the field of the South German dialects before we can proceed with a further analysis of our own dialect. Meanwhile, may the scholars and the linguists and the field-workers continue their diligent labors here in Pennsylvania and in other regions where the dialect is spoken, so that we may not lose a single item of interest in our field of research.

Since we cannot work abroad at present, it is interesting to have a look around and see what dialects right here in our own land might compare favorably with Pennsylvania German. Those of us who have lived in industrial centers (such as Reading, Allentown, Bethlehem) know full well how many of the words, phrases, and pronunciations of the language of the later German immigrants seem quite close to those of our own Pennsylvania German. There is enough difference in the speech and in the people, however, to make them two distinct language groups. Those later immigrants have an entirely different historical background, came from different sections in the Old Country, and have had a large influence on their speech through their schooling in High German: the truth of the matter is, that we Pennsylvania Germans can understand their speech much more readily than they can comprehend our dialect! But there is an older German dialect in this country that has many characteristics which almost coincide exactly with the outstanding features of Pennsylvania German. That dialect is the one spoken by a small colony in Amana, Iowa, and it is with the speech of those people that the following remarks will concern themselves.

WHERE AND WHAT IS THE AMANA DIALECT?

Clustered around the Iowa river in the northeastern part of Iowa county (in central Iowa) lie seven small villages known as the Amana settlement. Amana (accented on the second syllable in English, on the first in their dialect) comes originally from the Hebrew word 'ah-mah-nah' meaning 'firmness, fixedness'. The Amana villages, or the Amanas, as they are often called, are inhabited by a total of about 1,500 people, all of whose ancestors emigrated from Germany in 1843. This band of settlers, originally known as 'Die wahre Inspirations-Gemeinde' (The True Inspirationists), grew out of the Pietistic movement in Germany during the eighteenth century. The religious basis for this new sect was the belief that 'God could now, as well as of old, inspire men to speak and declare His word and will, and thus act as messengers of divine teaching to the world.' (4). After distressing times in the Old Country, the group emigrated to America and remained an ideal communistic colony in Iowa until 1932. On April 10 of that year the system was changed to a joint-stock company and Amana became much more modernized and less 'plain' than it had been before. Cars ad radios began to be accepted and modern type houses caused community washing and baking to be done away with. But the people's dialect has persisted in spite of outside influence: worship service is plain and preaching is done in German. English influence has crept noticeably into the dialect, but its foundations have not been shaken. Is this not the same story in Pennsylvania?

Because of many wanderings over Germany and Switzerland, the Amana group added members from a number of the German provinces, in particular from Hesse ,the Rhineland, Alsace, the Palatinate, Bavaria, Wuerttemberg and Baden. It is easy to see at once what a mixture of dialects this must have been at first. And in the Amana of today there are definite dialectal variations, but the language is rather unified on the whole. It has not had the time to go through the process of leveling which has worked so thoroughly in Pennsylvania German.

I was first struck by the similarity of this dialect to Pennsylvania German while aiding Mrs. Wilbur Robbie (formerly Miss Barbara Selzer), a native of Amana, with her Master's thesis 'A Description of the Amana Dialect of Homestead, Iowa' (typescript, University of Illinois, 1941). This thesis is an excellent piece of scientific and accurate research. It is based primarily on Mrs. Robbie's own speech, the dialect of Homestead (one of the seven villages), and treats phonology, morphology, and syntax to a certain degree. It far excels a previous study of the Amana dialect (5), a work which is to be entirely disregarded as far as linguistic accuracy is concerned. I want, therefore, to choose significant sections from Mrs. Robbies' work and make comparisons with our own dialect.

PHONOLOGY

In presenting the phonemes (i. e., sounds) of the Amana dialect and of Pennsylvania German, I shall employ German spellings, thus adhering to the orthography adopted in the articles and stories which appear in the Eck. As to the vowels, Amana has **a, e, i, o, u**, both short and long the diphthongs **ei, au, ui**, and the English loan sounds **ae** (as in 'hat'), aw (as in 'saw'), and oi (as in 'oil'). Besides these, Mrs. Robbie mentions the diphthongs **ea, ia, oa, ua** (both long and short) which result from the vowels **e, i, o, u** followed by the vocalized r-sound, as, for example, in **eascht** 'first'. Pennsylvania German, on the other hand, has the short vowels **a, e, i, o, u**, and the long vowels **aa, e, i, o, u**. The long **aa** (pronounced like English **aw**) is a very characteristic vowel sound of our dialect and is not **a** borrowing from English (as in Amana). Furthermore a long **a** is rare in Pennsylvania German, whereas it is quite frequent in Amana. Note also that both languages have the diphthongs ei and au; in Amana, as in Pennsylvania German, the sound **ei** represents High German **ei, eu,** and **aeu:** e.g. Amana-PaG **drei** 'three' (German drei), Amana-PaG **Greiz** 'cross' (German Kreuz), Amana-PaG **Sei** 'pigs' (German Saeue). The diphthong **ui** is as rare in Amana as it is in PaG: e.g. Amana **ui!** 'oh, look!', **Luis** 'Louise', **Lui** 'Lous, Louie', etc. The diphthong **oi,** although occurring in a small number of words, is definitely indigenous to PaG and not a loan from English (as in Amana). The diphthongs **ea, ia, oa, ua** (thus designated phonetically by Mrs. Robbie) have exact parallels in our own dialect: e.g. Amana **Eant** 'harvest' is pronounced exactly like PaG **Aern,** Amana **fia** 'four' like PaG **vier,** Amana **Oa** 'ear' like PaG **Chr,** Amana **Ua** 'clock' like PaG **Uhr.**

The vowels in Amana words correspond to those in PaG with but few exceptions. These exceptions fall into certain regular historical categories. For example, Amana has long **a** (spelled **ah** in the examples) where PaG may have short **a,** or more often **aa** or long **o** (these are regular developments in PaG from Middle High German): e.g. Amana **Dahch** 'roof' PaG **Dach,** Amana **zahm** 'tame' PaG **zaahm,** Amana **schlahfe** 'to sleep' PaG **schloofe,** etc. Note that in Amana the sounds **aa** and long **o** are also heard. Mrs. Robbie says (p.19): 'The long **a** of some of the older people, however, particularly those known to have come from Baden, more nearly resembles the **a** in **father** and in some cases even approaches the American English **a** in **all.** This difference in **a**-quality can also be noticed in the speech of practically all the people of East Amana, although their ancestors do not all come from Baden. In all of the Amanas other than Homestead the people use a long **o**-sound in place of the long **a**-sound in such words as **schlahfe** (to sleep), **Schnahk** (mosquito), **Ahbend** (evening).' Let us compare here the PaG words **schloofe, Schnook, Owet.**

The next vowel which interests us is the long **e**-sound. The PaG long **e** came, in some instances, from the Middle High German diphthong **ei** (pronounced like English **ay** in **bay**), but in New High German this old diphthong became the modern **ei** (pronunced like English **ei** in **height**): e.g. PaG **eens, zwee** 'one, two' (from Middle High German ein, zwei), New High German **eins, zwei.** In Amana this old diphthong took the same development as in New High German, so that the Amana dialect has **Gleid** for PaG **Gleed** 'dress' (MHG kleit, NHG Kleid) **Deich** for PaG **Deeg** 'dough' (MHG teic, NHG Teig), **Seif** for PaG **Seef** 'soap' (MHG seife, NHG Seife), etc.

Like PaG, the Amana dialect has no rounded vowels, and short and long **e** and **i** represent the umlauted German **oe, ae and ue** respectively: **e.g.** Amana-PaG **Leffel** 'spoon' (German Loeffel), Amana-PaG **Eel** 'oil' (German Oel), Amana-PaG **verzaehle** 'to tell' (German erzaehlen), Amana **Epfel-PaG Ebbel** 'apple' (German Aepfel), Amana PaG **fimf** 'five' (German fuenf,) **Amana-PaG frieh** 'early' (German frueh), etc.

The quantitative value of the vowels is almost always alike in the two languages. Occasionally there are differences such as Amana **Dahch** 'roof' with a long vowel and PaG **Dach** with a short vowel. But the two dialects usually stand together on the matter of vowel quantity when it differs from German :e.g. Amana-PaG **gewwe** 'to give', German **geben** (with long vowel).

NOTES

1. A. F. Buffington: 'Pennsylvania German. A Grammatical and Linguistic Study of the Dialect,' unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1938.
   'Characteristic Features of Pennsylvania German, etc.,' Eck Dec. 10-17 1938.
   'Pennsylvania German: Its Relation to other German Dialects.' American Speech, XIV, 276-286, Dec. 1939.
2. C. E. Reed: 'The Pennsylvania German Dialect Spoken in the Counties of Berks and Lehigh: Phonology and Morphology,' unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Brown U., 1941.
   Lester Seifert: (same): 'The Vocabulary,' unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Brown U., 1941.
3. C. H. Eshleman: 'The Origin of the Pennsylvania German Dialect.' Eck Nov. 2-9-16, 1935.
4. Chas. F. Noe: 'A Brief History of the Amana Society, 1714-1900,' p.3: in Iowa Journal of History and Politics, April 1904.
   For other material on the history of Amana see:
   Karl Knortz: "Die Wahre Inspirations-Gemeinde in Iowa,' Wigand, Leipzig, 1896.
   W. Perkins-B Wick: 'History of the Amana Society,' Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, 1932.
   G. Scheuner: 'Inspirations-Historie.' Amana, Iowa, Vols. 1 and 2, 1884; vol. 3, 1891; Fortsetzung: vols. 1-6, 1900, 1916, 1918, 1920, 1929 and 1925 respectively.
5. I. R. Johnson: 'A Study of the Amana Dialect,' unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1935.

TO BE CONCLUDED

Conrad Weiser

By ARTHUR D. GRAEFF, Ph.D.

CHAPTER XLI

DEEDS AND MISDEEDS

CHRISTOPHER SAUR, the German publisher of Philadelphia used the columns of his newspaper to assail the Albany Land Purchase of 1754 as an act of greedy men defrauding the Indians and sowing the seeds of war on the frontiers of Pennsylvania. Soon after the news of the purchase was made public white settlers began to pour into the valleys north of the Juniata and Sherman's creek, erecting their homes in present-day Snyder County. Just as promptly the squatters were given orders by the Indians to clear out of these lands. It became evident that the Pennsylvania Indians either refused to honor the deed which their "uncles", the Six Nations, had given at Albany or else they did not know it's terms. It is certain that they did not comprehend the full significance of the sale which gave the proprietaries seven hundred thousand acres west of the Susquehanna or more than twice the area purchased by any previous treaty.

The Indians were within their rights in evicting settlers who arrived before the boundary lines were determined. Realizing the need to establish such boundaries the provincial authorities ordered Conrad Weiser to "run" the northwest boundary line, establishing the limits of the purchase. It will be remembered that the Albany deed granted the Penns the entire basin of the west branch of the Susquehanna, on both sides of the river beginning at a point on the west bank of the river opposite the Blue mountains, near present-day Penn's Creek, and then by a line run northwest to the western limits of the province.

In attempting to carry out this assignment in October 1754, Weiser combined several other missions. We have seen that he attended the funeral services of the Half-King, assassin of the French officer Jumonville, at Harris' Ferry. At Shamokin he lingered to build a log house for the Shikellimy family. Earlier that year one of the great Chieftain's daughters had trudged to Weiser's home in Heidelberg and poured a tale of woe into Conrad's sympathetic ear. Things were going badly for the Shikellimys. The complainant's husband had died of small-pox; a son and a nephew had been slain by the Catawbas. John Petty, the youngest of Shikellimy's sons, had prevailed upon her son to take the war path against the mother's protests. She was "perplexed and ashamed" records Weiser. At the time of her appeal Conrad offered her little spiritual consolation "I told her that it was the Hand of the Most High that fights now against those that went against the Catawbas after they had made a public and firm peace with them."

But out of human sympathy and perhaps with an eye to securing good will Weiser undertook to ease the road for the Shikellimys by building them a house before winter set in. He employed six men to assist him. These deeds of charity were combined with the mission to determine the line of the Albany purchase. On October 12 Weiser informed Richard Peters "I have also run the Boundary Line and made the Corner between the Honourable Proprietors and the Indians' Land a mile or two above the mouth of the Cayaunta and run near two mile Northwest by west." But Weiser did not survey the line. The Indians helping him, two Shikellimys, refused to carry the chain saying that the course "was not according to the Bargain." The Indians argued that they understood that the purchase did not involve the lands drained by the west branch of the Susquehanna and that it did not include Big Island, near present day Lock Haven.

In his letter to Peters Weiser supported this claim of the Indians, reminding Peters that the Commissioners at Albany had assured the Indians that the Big Island would not be contained in the purchase. Weiser reminded Peters that Lewis Evans's map had been consulted at the treaty in Albany and that the map was shown to the Indians then as evidence that the Susquehanna basin was not involved in the sale. "But I saw plain" wrote Weiser in October "that that Course would cross the Zinzchsa (West Brench) about Canasorgu (Muncy).

In the light of this development Weiser urged that the Proprietors should not insist upon securing all of these lands immediately. The Indians told him that they would not stop at killing any settlers who ventured to settle in the disputed areas. John Shikellimy who helped to carry the chain in October had been present at Albany during the treaty purchase, even to the extent of urging the Six Nations to agree to it.

Because of the attitude of the Indians Weiser did not conclude his task of "running the line". Later events proved that this was a very wise decision because other complications were developing east of the Susquehanna. Because of Weiser's patience in the matter of determining the limits of the Albany purchase the Delawares and Shawnese were disposed to listen to Hendricks who urged them to honor the Albany treaty and not molest settlers. Also because of the problems west of the Susquehanna the province of Pennsylvania was in a position to deal with the new problem in Wyoming with clean hands.

"This dark Affair" wrote John Penn and Richard Peters in referring to the schemes of the Connecticut people to secure a Mohawk deed for the Wyoming lands in Pennsylvania In spite of pious phrases and assurances to the contrary the Connecticut commissioners left the Intercolonial Conference at Albany with an Indian deed to the Susquehanna Company, a group of more than four hundred and fifty New England people who planned to speculate in lands claimed under Connecticut's ancient sea-to-sea charter. These lands lay definitely within William Penn's grant of land but Yankee cupidity outweighed such considerations and they had no scruples against negotiating with Indians who had no right to sell for lands which the Susquehanna Company had no right to claim. Conniving with the New York agent John Lydius of doubted integrity and Abraham Peters, wily Mohawk chieftain, and the Connecticut Commissions boldly violated promises given to the Pennsylvania people but a day or two before the evil deed was done.

Having secured the signatures of some Indians present at Albany the villainous Lydius rode among the Indian villages of the back country in New York prevailing upon drunken Indians to affix their marks to the deed. In this way he secured the signatures of some chiefs other than the Mohawks, which tribe had no rights to contract an individual sale without the approval of others of the Six Nations. Lydius had the audacity to induce one of Colonel William Johnson's Indian "guests" to sign. For this he was severely upraided by Johnson who, true to his promise to Pennsylvania, refused to be a party to Connecticut's nefarious schemes.

One day after Wieser returned to his home after spending two weeks in Shamokin trying to determine the Albany purchase limits, he received a packet of letters apprising him of the perfidy of Lydius and the Connecticut people. His counsel was asked on how to proceed.

Through Indian channels Weiser had learned of the Mohawk deed as early as September 23rd. At Shamokin he learned from the Indians living there that the Indians would never permit the deed to stand. Conrad expressed his opinion that if white people should attempt to settle in Wyoming Lands "there will be Bloodshed and a great Deal of Mischief done."

In response to the request for suggestions Weiser advised that some of the leaders of the Six Nations should be invited to Philadelphia for the purpose of getting them to deny the deed. If they could not come to Philadelphia, then Wyoming would be the proper place to confer. Also, advised Weiser, a special effort should be made to have the Cayugas represented because Lydius had not secured a single signature from that nation, as Weiser noted.

In a letter written October 27 Weiser advised further that a diligent search should be made in advance of a conference to determine whether Old Hendricks had been a party to the Mohawk deed "If he has not, we will succeed without Doubt" he averred. If Hendricks refused to come into Pennsylvania "then we must send to Onondaga next Spring."

Early in January 1755 Hendricks and several Mohawks came to Philadelphia and appeared before the Council. Weiser acted as interpreter.

Without quibbling Hendricks came to the point very quickly, declaring "Brother: We have considered what you have said to Us about the deceitful Deed that John Lydius inveigled some of Us to sign.

We agree that the Deed should be destroyed. We agree with you that it is a false Proceeding."

He advised that the whole matter be laid before the Six Nations for final denunciation of the transaction.

In presenting some of Hendrick's own words we try to convey to the reader the brusque character of the Mohawk chieftain. He did not indulge in circuitous language and he sent his verbal shafts flashing to their destinations. At one point of the conference Weiser informed the governor that Hendricks was making "Complaints against a Neighbouring Province" and therefore he deemed it best not to interpret these remarks into the record. Governor Morris agreed to this, and directed that Wejser and Peters should take up such matters in private conversation.

The bitter complaints were against New York and do not, directly, concern us here. But out of private discussions with the Mohawks Weiser and Peters agreed upon a plan by which the deed to Connecticut could be invalidated.

The vexing problem of Connecticut claims did not end with the Mohawks renunciation of the deed, but the part played by Conrad Weiser did end with this achievement.

It must be clear that Weiser had played a judicious part in trying to ward off the evil days that came in the autumn of 1755. He knew the temper of the Indians better than any one then alive. The overt act which finally led to the alienation of the Delawares and Shawnese was none of his doing.

A Comparison of Pennsylvania German With the Amana Dialect of Iowa

By J. WILLIAM FREY

Department of German, Presbyterian College
Clinton, S. C.

CONCLUSION

The Consonants. Both languages have: the dentals, **t, d, s, sch, z, tsch**; the labials **p, b, w, f**; the dorsals **k, g, ch, j, h**; the liquids **l, r**; and the nasals **m, n, ng.** Further, Amana has the labial **bf**, which occurs where German **pf** is found; this combination is lacking in Pennsylvania German, being represented by **p** or **b** (see examples below in discussion.) Pennsylvania German has the voiced velar spirant g (phonetic symbol: g with a stroke through it), which occurs only medially and is often absent: e. g. PaG **saage** to say,' often pronounced simply **saa'e.** This spirant seems to be lacking in Amana. Let us now compare the various consonantal phonemes in the two dialects with respect to their appearance initially, medially, or finally (i. e., whether they occur at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end of words.)

The voiceless aspirated dental stop **t** in Amana occurs only before vowels in initial position, and then in but a few words taken from Standard German or English; the very same is true of PaG: e.g. Amana-PaG **Tee** 'tea,' Amana-PaG **Tietscher,** 'teacher,' etc. In all other cases the voiceless unaspirated stop d is found initially, as in PaG: e.g. Amana-PaG **doot** 'dead' (German tot), Amana-PaG **Deller** (plate' (German Teller), Amana-PaG **drinke** 'to drink' (German trinken), etc. Medially, only the voiceless unaspirated **d** occurs in both dialects: e.g. Amana-PaG **Bruuder** 'brother' (German Bruder), Amana-PaG **Mudder** 'mother' (German Mutter), etc. Both **t** and **d** occur finally, both are voiceless: e.g. Amana-PaG **doot** 'dead' (German tot), Amana-PaG **Kind** 'child' (German Kind), etc.

The dental spirant **s** is always voiceless in both dialects (never voiced as in German). Further, s does not occur initially before **t, p, w, l, r, m, n** but is represented by **sch** in both languages: e.g. Amana-PaG **Schtick** 'piece,' **schpiele** 'to play,' **schwetze** 'to talk,' **Schlang** 'snake,' **schreiwe** 'to write,' **schmeisse** 'to throw,' **Schnee** 'snow' (same as German Stueck, spielen, Schlange, schreiben, schmeissen, Schnee). But PaG has **sch** represent **s** before medial and final **d-t, b-p,** which is not generally true of Amana (nor of German): e.g. PaG **Kaschde** 'box' Amana **Kasde** (German Kasten), PaG **hoscht** 'have' Amana hast (German hast), PaG **haschble** 'to reel,' **Weschp** 'wasp' contrasted with Amana **Gnosbe** 'buds,' **Gnosp** 'bud' (German haspeln, Wespe, Knospe). Amana occasionally has **sch** before final **t**, as in **eascht** 'first.' In both Amana and PaG, the dentals **z** (sometimes written **tz**) and **tsch** occur initially, medially, and finally. However, **tsch** occurs in both dialects in initial position only in English loan words: e.g. Amana-PaG **Tschap** 'job,' **Tscheel** 'jail,' Amana **tschahtsche-PaG tschaertsche** 'to charge,' etc. In these instances **tsch** represents the initial voiced English affricate.

In both languages, the voiceless bilabial aspirated stop **p** occurs initially in a few words and then only before vowels: e.g. Amana **Pahdi**—PaG **Paerdi** 'party,' etc. In Pennsylvania German initial **p** may further represent MHG **pf**, NHG **pf,** but the Amana dialect has undergone the same consonant 'shift' as German and therefore has **bf** initially, medially, finally: cf. PaG **Pann** 'pan' against Amana **Bfann** (German Pfanne), PaG **zobbe** 'to pull' against Amana **zobfe** (German zupfen), PaG **Kopp** 'head' against Amana **Kobf** (German Kopf), etc. Further, PaG has initial **b** before **l** where Amana has **bf:** e.g. PaG **Blaum** 'plum' Amana **Bflaum** (German Pflaume). In both dialects the voiceless unaspirated stop **b** occurs medially, and **p** and **b** may occur finally.

PaG and the Amana dialect are similar, too, in that inter-vocalic **w** represents intervocalic **b** in German: e.g. Amana-PaG **gewwe** 'to give' German geben; also medially before **l** and **r**, as in Amana-PaG **howwle** 'to plane' German hobeln, Amana-PaG **iwwrich** 'left over' German uebrig. In both languages the voiced spirant **w** occurs only initially (before vowels and in the cluster with **sch**) and medially. The voiceless spirant **f** occurs in Amana and PaG in all three positons.

The dorsal stops **k** and **g** pattern alike in both dialects: that is, **k** occurs initially only before vowels, both **k** and **g** may occur medially and finally. The stop **g** occurs initially before vowels or consonants: e.g. Amana **gehn** PaG **geh** 'to go' German gehen, Amana-PaG **grank** 'ill' German krank

In both dialects the voiceless spirant **ch** occurs medially and finally as in German: e.g. Amana-PaG **koche** 'to cook' German kochen, Amana-PaG **hooch** 'high' German hoch. The Amana dialect, however, often has **ch** representing German medial or final **g**, which is not true of Pennsylvania German: contrast Amana **sahche** 'to say' PaG **saa(g)e** (German sagen), Amana **liche** 'to lie down' PaG **leie** (German liegen), Amana **Dahch** 'day' PaG Daag (German Tag), Amana **Weech** 'way' PaG **Weeg** (German Weg), etc. This **ch** pronunciation of **g** is often found in coloquial German.

The other consonant sounds occur alike in both dialects. The liquid **r** medially before consonants and finally is not trilled but is vocalized to a deep back **a**-sound; this is true for both PaG and the Amana dialect.

Morphology

We shall not go into a detailed description of all the morphological forms of both the Amana dialect and Pennsylvania German (since many of these forms are regional or other types of peculiarities), but merely point out the similarities and differences in the general grammatical structure of the two languages.

1. Articles. The definite article is exactly alike in both dialects. (For forms given in full see any of the PaG studies mentioned above, or J. W. Frey: 'The Pennsylvania German Dialect in York County' Eck Feb. 3-10, 1940) (6). The indefinite article is also the same, but Amana seems to favor simply the **e** (pronounced like the English indefinite article **a**), whereas PaG has **en** or **'n** more generally in the nominative and accusative.

2. Substantives. The two languages have similar plural formations, with vowel mutation (umlaut) occurring as in German. Plurals adding no ending: Amana-PaG **Bruuder, Brieder** 'brother); **Brief, Brief** 'letter'; **Maus, Meis** 'mouse,' etc. Plurals adding **e:** Amana-PaG **Katz, Katze,**. 'cat,' Amana **Buub-PaG Bu,** pl.**Buwe** 'boy,' etc. Plurals in **er:** Amana-PaG **Mann, Menner,** 'man;' **Kind, Kinner** 'child'; **Haus, Heiser** 'house'; **Loch, Lecher** 'hole', ect. In both languages English loan nouns very often add **s** in the plural.

3. Adjectives. The strong endings of the attributive adjective are exactly alike in both dialects, except that Amana has the ending **es** in the nominative and accusative neuter singular after the indefinite article or a possessive adjective PaG generally has no ending here, except perhaps in poetry or when the adjective is used substantively: cf. Amana **e wieschdes Gleid** 'an ugly dress,' PaG **'n wiescht Gleed;** but PaG does have the ending **es** in **sel waar 'n guudes** 'that was a good one.' Unlike PaG, the Amana dialect has the weak ending e (as in German) on the attributive adjective in all three genders, nominative and accusative of the singular; PaG has generally no ending here: cf. Amana **der guude Mann, die aldi Frau, 's neie Haus** PaG **der guut Mann, die alt Fraa, 's nei Haus.** The plural weak endings are alike in both tongues. Adjectives are compared alike in PaG and Amana, except that the Amana dialect adds **st** for the superlative, whereas PaG adds **scht.** Note also that both dialects drop the original final **t** in the superltive of the adjective **alt** 'old,' viz: Amana **elst** PaG **elscht.** In Amana the adjective **hooch** 'high' is similar to PaG in its comparison, viz: **heecher, heechst.** The word **nah** 'near,' however, is compared as follows: **naeher, naest** (cf. PaG **naegscht, naecher, naegscht).** The possessive adjectives are inflected pretty nearly the same in both languages. The demonstrative adjective **daer die des** 'this' is exactly the same in both PaG and Amana. The Amana dialect, however, does not have the separate form seller selli sell 'that' (a PaG feature), but expresses 'that' by adding **dort** (PaG **dart**) to the demonstrative: e.g. Amana **des Maedel (do)** 'this girl' (same as PaG), Amana **des Maedel dort** 'that girl' PaG **sell Maedel (dart).**

4. Pronouns. The personal pronouns are exactly alike in form, pronunciation and inflection in both languages. In the nominative of the 2nd person plural the Amana dialect has only the form **ihr,** whereas PaG also has **nihr** and **dihr.** The Amana dialect also has the polite form **Sie** 'you' (as in German), but it is used very infrequently. As in PaG, the common word for 'you' is the friendly **du.** The reflexive pronouns are alike; the intensive pronoun is **selwer** in both dialects (PaG often has **selwert).** The possessive pronouns correspond exactly, and the demonstrative pronouns are declined like the corresponding adjectives. As in PaG, the relative pronoun in the Amana dialect is **wo** for all genders, numbers, and cases (PaG **wu).** PaG, however, also has the relative **as,** which is used interchangeably with wu. Amana sometimes has **welchem** (masc., neut.) and **welchre** (fem.), dative forms which do not exist in PaG. The interrogative pronouns are alike in both dialects. The indefinite pronouns and adjectives are quite similar, with the outstanding exceptions of **jemand** 'somebody' and **etwas** or **was** 'something' in Amana (and in Standard German), where PaG has **ebber** and **ebbes.**

5. Numerals. Compare the following ordinals in the two dialects, Amana: **eins, zwei, drei, vier, fimf, sechs, siwwe, acht, nein, zehn, elf, zwelf, dreizehn, vaerzehn, fimfzehn** (or, **fufzehn), sechzehn, sibzehn, achtzehn, neinzehn, zwansich, einunswansich, dreissich, vaerzich, fimfzich,** (or, **fufzich), sechzich, sibzich, achtzich, neinzich, hunnert, dausend.**

Pennsylvania German sometimes adds an **e** to **vier (e), fimf(e), sechs(e), acht(e), nein(e), elf(e), zwelf(e),** and has the following differences from the above list: **eens, zwee, zehe, dreizeh, varzeh, fufzeh, siwwezeh, eenunzwansich, varzich, fufzich, siwwezich.** With the exception of **eens** and **zwee,** the differences in the numerals in the two dialects are practically negligible.

6. Prepositions and Conjunctions. Suffice it to say here that the Amana dialect has a number of prepositional forms and subordinating conjunctions which are not to be fonud in Pennsylvania German and which are more akin to those in Standard German. Their usage, however, is alike in both dialects.

7. Verbs. The Amana dialect has a verb-system very similar to that of PaG, the present tense endings being: sing. **st** and **t** for 2nd and 3rd persons, and plural **e** (or **n**) for 1st and 3rd persons and **t** for the 2nd person. Like PaG, Amana verbs have no imperfect (except **sein** and certain subjunctive forms), but form the past tenses by combining the auxiliaries **hawwe** or **sein** with the past participle of the main verb. Also like PaG, the **ge** prefix of past participles becomes **g'** before **f, s,** and **sch** (7): e.g. Amana **g'fracht** 'asked' PaG **g'froogt** Amana . **g'sehn** .'seen' .PaG . **g'sehne,** .Amana **g'schtohle** 'stolen PaG **g'schtohle.** In both dialects the pluperfect tense is formed by adding **g'hatt** (or Amana **geweese** PaG **gewest** for intransitives) to the present perfect tense: e.g. Amana **ich hab g'sacht g'hatt** 'I had said' PaG **ich hab g'saagt g'hatt;** Amana **sie iss g'schtorwe geweese** 'she had died' PaG **sie iss g'schtarwe gewest.** Both languages have the irregular past participles: Amana **gange** 'gone,' **gesse** 'eaten,' **gewwe** 'given,' **gricht** 'gotten,' PaG **gange, gesse, gewwe, grickt.**

In the Amana dialect, the imperative plural is formed by adding **t** to the verb-stem: e.g. **kommt!** 'come.' PaG has this form and three others, viz: **kummt, kumme, kummet,** and **kummen.**

The following single-form imperfect subjunctives exist in both dialects: Amana-PaG **breicht** 'need,' Amana **ging** PaG **gingt, gengt** 'go,' Amana **kaem** PaG **kaemt** 'come,' Amana-PaG **hett** 'have,' Amana-PaG **waer** 'be,' Amana **wollt** PaG **wott, wett,** 'want to,' Amana **sollt** PaG **sott, sett,** 'ought to.' Amana-PaG **misst** 'must,' Amana-PaG **kennt** 'can,' Amana-PaG **daerft** 'be permitted to,' Amana-PaG **mecht** (also PaG **meecht)** 'may' (means 'wish for' in Amana), Amana **geb** PaG **geebt** 'give,' Amana-PaG **wisst** 'know,' Amana-PaG **greecht** 'get,' Amana-PaG **daet** 'do.' Pennsylvania German sometimes has the additional form **breecht** 'bring.' In Amana, the plural of the subjunctive forms **ging, kaem, geb** may or may not add **d** before the ending: **mer gingde** or **ginge,** etc. The **d** (**t** on the end of the singular) is regularly used in PaG.

The following are two of the outstanding verb conjunctions in the two dialects.

Amana	Pennsylvania German
hawwe: hab, hast, hat;	hab, hoscht, hot;
hawwe, habt, hawwe	hen, hen(t), hen
sein: bin, bist, iss;	**sei:** bin, bischt, iss;
sin, seid, sin	sin, sin(t), sin

SYNTAX

In connection with syntax, I should like to point out merely a few of the more interesting characteristics of both dialects. In both there is no genitive case as such (it exists in a few remnants), but the possessive is expressed by using the dative case followed by the possessive adjctive or pronoun: e.g. Amana **'m Mann sein Buub** 'the man's son (boy), PaG **'m Mann sei Bu.** In both dialects the nominative and accusative cases are alike in form, including masculine gender (unlike German.)

Pennsylvania German syntax has its most interesting feature in word order. In the so-called 'double infinitive' construction with certain verbs as **helfe, heere, sehne,** the order is the reverse of the German order, viz: **ich hab 'n sehne kumme** 'I saw him coming' (German ich habe ihn kommen sehen.) The Amana dialect has both the PaG and the German orders, viz: **ich hab 'n sehn komme,** or **ich hab 'n komme sehn.** The other outstanding feature of PaG word order is as follows: when three verb elements appear at the end of a dependent clause, the finite verb generally has medial position. The Amana dialect may also have this order. Below are some examples from PaG followed by their equivalents in Amana:

1) between the main verb and a modal:

. . . ass ich **geh hab misse** 'that I had to go': Amana dass ich gehn hab misse (German dass ich habe gehen muessen).

2) between the main verb and the auxiliary **waerre** in the compound tenses of the passive:

. . . wie mer **g'sehne sin waerre** 'when we were seen'; Amana wie mer **g'sehn sin worre,** or **g'sehn worre sin** (German als wir gesehen worden sind).

3) between the main verb and **g'hatt** (or **gewest)** of the pluperfect:

. . . wie ich sell **geduh hab g'hatt,** or **geduh g'hatt hab** 'when I had done that'; Amana wie ich des **gedahn hab g'hatt,** or **gedahn g'hatt hab** (German als ich das getan hatte; literally: getan gehabt habe.)

4) between the two components of a perfect infinitive when the finite verb is a modal:

. . . ass er 'n **g'sehne soll hawwe** 'that he is said to have seen him'; Amana dass er 'n **g'sehn soll hawwe,** or **g'sehn hawwe soll** (German dass er ihn gesehen haben soll).

VOCABULARY

It cannot be within the scope of this article to give complete vocabulary lists showing the differences and the similarities between Pennsylvania German and the Amana dialect. It will be of interest, however, to point out some of the more peculiar dialect words of Amana and compare them was PaG equivalents. But first let us consider the matter of English loan words: as in PaG, there is a large number of them in Amana, and their pronunciation and gender are very similar to those of our dialect. For instance, Amana has (among hundreds of others): **'s Bewi** 'baby', **blendi** 'plenty', **der Tschulei** 'July,' **die Garatsch** 'garage,' **der Kahr** 'car,' **der, die Kossen** 'cousin, **die Pahdi** 'party,' **die Portsch** 'porch,' **der Schmook** 'smoke,' **die Feektri** 'factory,' **der Schtor** 'store,' **die Offis** 'office,' **die Grick** 'creek,' **die Rees** 'millrace,' **der Leek** 'lake,' etc., etc. May the reader compare these with their prototypes in Pennsylvania German. Loan words in Amana may be masculine, feminine or neuter, but, as in PaG, the feminines are in the majority.

The following are some interesting dialect words in Amana: **erinnre** 'to preach,' **abschmelse** 'to cover with hot fried bread crumbs,' **der Blatschreeche** 'hard rain,' **dorglich** (or **dormlich)** 'dizzy,' **der Dreckfink** 'one who dirties himself easily, especially a child,' **die Eelfischle** 'sardines,' **der Zigori** 'dandelion,' far nichs 'free' (cf. PaG) versuche 'to taste' (cf. PaG), **die Gaunschel** 'swing,' **die Mudder** (or **Groossmudder)** 'great grandmother,' **der Guss** 'icing, frosting,' **'s Halsduch** 'shoulder shawl—part of church dress,' **die Kaffiedut** 'one who drinks a lot of coffee,' **der Hoof** 'yard around the house without grass,' **der Rabbelkasde** 'old car,' **'s Rinnsviech** 'brute,' **der Schtall** 'barn,' **'s Schmiersel** 'jelly, preserves,' **der Schnubbe** 'cold in the nose,' **die Schubfnuudel** 'potato fritter,' **die Unnerredung** 'church service with public confession,' **der Wunnerfitzer** 'remarkable child' (cf. PaG **wunnerfitzich** 'inquisitive.')

CONCLUSIONS

A hasty recapitulation shows us that the Amana dialect of Iowa, though brought here as late as 1843, is amazingly similar to our own Pennsylvania German in phonology, morphology, syntax, and vocabulary. With the outstanding exception of the **ei**-sound where PaG has **ee** (as in Amana **eins, zwei,** PaG **eens, zwee),** the two dialects sound very much alike to the ear. Amana does not have the loss of **r** after a short **a** before dentals, as in PaG **hart, dart** (pronounced **hatt, datt.)**

Can these people understand Pennsylvania German? The answer is 'yes'; in fact they have contact with Amish and Mennonites and hear them speaking our dialect rather often. When you try Pennsylvania German on a native of Amana, he says at one: **du schwetzst grahd wie die Amische!** There are Plain people in Johnson County, Iowa, who speak Pennsylvania German (8).

I know of no more fitting ending to this discussion than to give a sample of the Amana dialect. Very little has been written in this interesting dialect, but a number of the Amana high school pupils (who study High German, among other subjects) try their hand at writing little anecdotes in their native dialect, and these have appeared from time to time in the school paper, **Die Posaune.** A selection from this paper (dated Oct. 1936) appears below:

E BEESES GEWISSE

'S hat e mol 'n alder Mann in der 'colony' gewohnt, wo immer gresslich geizich war. Der iss alls nachts mit seim Schubbkarre an der Schtall g'fahre, un hat Mist g'schtohle. Des hawwe auch die Buwe gewisst. Die hawwe gedenkt, sie wolle e mol 'fun' hawwe mit dem alde Mann.

Ein Ahbend hat einer von de Buwe e Bettduch iwwer sich gedahn un dann hawwe sie den Mann abgewatscht. Wie sie der Mann g'sehn hawwe mit seim Schubbkarre un Mist, iss der mit 'm Bettduch ihm engeege gange. Wo der Mann der Buub g'sehn hat, hat er der Schubbkarre un Mist midde uf der 'road' schtehn lasse un iss anfange zu renne un hat anfange zu beede, weil er an Geister gaglaubt hat. De negste Dahch hat er Angst g'hatt aus 'm Haus zu gehn, un hat zu alle Leit g'sacht, er hett der Deifel g'sehn, un's waer gar net mehr 'safe' sich naus zu gedraue nachts. Des war 's End von der Schtehlerei far ihn.

NOTES

6. See also J. W. Frey: 'A Morphogical and Syntactical Study of the Pennsylvania-German Dialect of Pumpernickle Bill' and 'Supplement (to same).' unpublished M. A. thesis. University of Illinois, 1939; 'Some Observations on Bilingualism in Eastern York County,' Eck, Feb. 15, 1941: 'The German Dialect of Eastern York County, Pennsylvania,' unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 478pp., University of Illinois, 1941: 'Phonemics of English Loan Words in Eastern York County Pennsylvania Dutch.' American Speech, XVII, 94-101, April 1942.

7. In York and Lancaster counties (and other regions), the **ge** prefix becomes **g'** before not only **f, s, sch,** but also before **j, l, m, n, r, w,** and vowels, viz; **g'joomert** 'moaned,' **g'lese** 'read,' **g'macht.** 'made,' **g'naggelt** 'nailed,' **g'rufe** 'called,' **g'west** 'been.'

8. See Ruth Bender: 'A Study of the Pennsylvania-German Dialect as Spoken in Johnson County, Iowa,' unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Iowa, 1929. Miss Bender's work is almost entirely vocabulary. In her introductory notes she points out that PaG is spoken in Johnson Co., Washington Co., and Iowa Co., an area of about one hundred square miles. About 3000 people speak the dialect, or approximately 60 per cent of the total population of that region. These PaG-speaking settlers migrated westward from Pennsylvania to Ohio, thence to Iowa in **1845,** two years after the first Amana settlers came.

EN SIMPLER MANN

Ich kenn en gewisser Mann,
As dankbaar iss un froh
Far der Himmel hoch un blo;
Far sei Aage, dass er so
Sei Kinner sehne kann;
Weil sei Kinner schpringe un lache
Un ihre G'schpiele mache;
Iwwer die un dergleiche Sache
Frohsinnich lacht er dann.

Er lacht un iss voll Freed
Far der Regge un der Schnee;
Far's Graas un der lieblich Klee
Un die Blumme frisch un schee
Un em Wald sei schattiche Paed.
Er wunnert net warum,
Dass annere sin so dumm
Un lewe so schlecht un krumm
Un die Welt sich der letz Weg dreht.

Er guckt net varne naus
Mit me sargfeltich G'sicht—
Bang wegge 'm grosse Gericht:
Er geht ins Bett unne Licht
Un die dunkel Nacht schloft aus.
En Philosoph odder 'n Schnepp?
Die Leit duhne 'n aagucke schepp
Un schmunzle un schittle die Kepp
Un meene er waer "aus em Haus."

—CHARLES C. ZIEGLER

DER SEPTEMBER

September, sin die Ebbelbaem
So schwer un voll gelaade;
Die Welschkarn Schack in Felder schtehn,
So schtrack as wie Soldaade;
Die Schwalme fliege, o so weit,
Nooch scheene waarme Lenner;
Sie wisse selwer ihre Zeit
Un brauche ken Kalenner.

—JOHN BIRMELIN

Alde Bauere Schprich

Wenn der September noch donnern kann,
Setzen die Baeume viel Blieten an.

* * *

Gewitter im September
Deiten auf Schnee im Dezember.

* * *

Ist Matthaeus (21.) hell un klar,
Gute Zeiten bringt's fuerwahr.

* * *

Regent's am Sankt Michelstag (29.),
Kommt ein milder Winter nach.